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SUBJECT: PROLIFERATION OF MAI MAI GROUPS

Mai Mai rumblings

1. (SBU) During a recent visit to Goma, AU Special Envoy Benjamin Mkapa and his aide, General Sumbeiywo, received complaints from various North and South Kivu Mai Mai (local militias) groups about non-implementation of the March 23 agreements. Citing GDRC inaction, especially since the August meeting of the National Monitoring Group, the groups noted that they still have not received government positions, which they claim the GDRC promised to them.

2. (SBU) However, the groups also raised further concerns dealing with the integration of their forces into the FARDC. Around 450 combatants, primarily from Mai Mai Yakutumba, Mai Mai Zabuloni, and the FRF, have threatened to return to the bush because they have not been given uniforms or been integrated into FARDC units, as promised. In August, armed groups drew up "action plans" for their integration, per a GDRC request, but the GDRC has not yet responded.

Yakutumba still not integrated

3. (SBU) Colonel Delphin, FARDC Commander of Kimia II in South Kivu, apparently was stood up by Mai Mai "General" Yakutumba, because Yakutumba refused to meet Delphin without a bodyguard. Instead, Yakutumba met with FARDC General Dunia, an ex-Mai Mai who had close ties to Laurent Kabila. Dunia, according to our sources, attempted to convince Yakutumba to integrate his forces into the FARDC (Note and comment: The bulk of Mai Mai Yakutumba remains outside of the integration process despite sporadic indications since January that it would integrate. Recent efforts by the FARDC to meet with Yakutumba are encouraging, as they appear to demonstrate the GDRC continues to work to integrate the group. End note and comment).

Introducing the new Mai Mai groups

4. (SBU) Over the last several months, there has been an increase in new Mai Mai groups, including the following:

-- Mai Mai Manua Manua is based around Kishero in northern Rutshuru. It is primarily ethnic Nande, claiming to protect the local population against abuses by recently integrated CNDP elements in the FARDC.

-- Mai Mai Coutumier is based around Bunyatenge in western Masisi. It draws primarily from PARECO-Hutu, also protecting the local population against ex-CNDP (now FARDC) abuses. It insists that it does not collaborate with the FDLR.

-- Mai Mai Populaire is based in western Masisi and eastern Walikale. Led by "General" Tabu Panda Pascal, a FARDC deserter, this group claims to protect locals from ex-CNDP (specifically FARDC

211 and 212 Brigades) abuses. This group reportedly has recently cooperated with the FDLR against the FARDC.

15. (SBU) Comment: Each of the new Mai Mai groups has its own locally specific reasons for taking up arms. Nevertheless, there are three reasons not to dismiss them as simple opportunists. First, state authority is non-existent in a wide swath of the Kivus. Second, newly integrated FARDC units (ex-CNDP) have now advanced into areas where they are viewed with deep suspicion. Finally, FDLR targeting of the civilian population since the beginning of Kimia II has contributed to the formation of more local self-defense groups. None of these groups, old or new, appears to want to or be able to create wider instability. However, should these groups coalesce with other anti-government forces (FDLR, Mai Mai Kifuafua, APCLS), with other anti-government forces (FDLR, Mai Mai Kifuafua, APCLS), they could present a real challenge to the FARDC.

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